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POPULATION TODAY

Vol. 13, No. 7/8 July/August 1985

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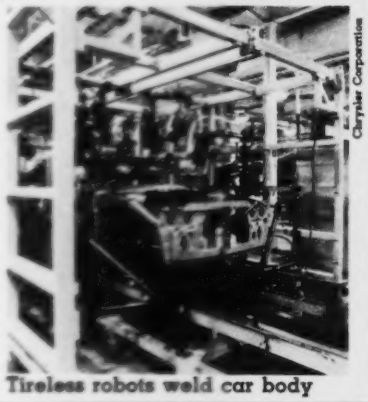
After Manufacturing, What? (Demographically Speaking)

Manufacturing jobs are diminishing in the U.S. economy. The question is—what will take their place?



Tireless robots weld car body

From January 1980 to April 1985, while the service sector was picking up about 8 million jobs, the U.S. lost 2.3 million manufacturing jobs, according to a report prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. These losses come despite the fact that the U.S. economy is rebounding from the 10-percent unemployment of the 1982-1983 recession.

This is happening as the U.S. continues its shift from a manufacturing to a service-dominant economy. The shift is due to a number of factors—notably, technological progress, changing international trade patterns, and rising standards of living (the last is considered to stimulate demand for special services rather than additional goods). As a result, the U.S. economy, along with the people holding its 106 million jobs (as of the last quarter of 1984), are experiencing the pains of economic restructuring.

Despite population aging, the work force has increased proportionally to the U.S. as a whole—from about 59.6 percent of the over-16 population in 1950 to 64.9 percent in mid-1984, in part due to the greater participation of women, who constitute 43.5 percent of the labor force (as of 1983). It is women in particular who have responded to (or helped to create) the burgeoning labor market for service workers.

But it may be too much to expect an economy to generate an unlimited number of jobs through demand for services. As Nobel laureate Wassily Leontief wrote in an analysis in *Population and Development Review:* "Since the service sectors were...and still are more labor intensive than agriculture and manufacturing, their rapid growth more than compensates at the present time for job loss caused by the computerization and automation that has begun to be introduced in these sectors; yet the shift of demand from commodities into services is bound to slow down, while displacement of labor by increasingly efficient machines seems to have no limits. The ability of the service sector to absorb displaced workers will diminish." For example, word processors and personal computers have already cut into clerical positions as professionals who write now rely on letter quality printers rather than a secretary for final copies, and later this decade voice-actuated word processors able to take dictation will probably reach the market, so that even keyboard skills may then become passé. And that's a relatively modest gadget from the technologist's laboratory.

One possibility is that technology will polarize the new population of service workers into a "two-tier" system of positions and salaries—that is, a small proportion of high-tech professional and managerial positions and a large proportion of clerical and technical jobs. This

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Crowded Islands, Lack of Warning

The devastation of the islands of southeastern Bangladesh caused by a deadly cyclone on May 25 is a tragic example of overcrowding at its worst.

The death toll in the disaster is uncertain, but Bangladeshi authorities estimate it to be 10,000. The storm damaged or destroyed 200,000 homes, and ruined 135,000 acres of cropland.

Consisting of silt, the islands have risen from the sea only in recent years. Their vulnerability to storms is well known, but despite national law prohibiting their settlement for 10 years after they emerge, many land-starved poor people have flocked to them. Ironically, a highly sophisticated storm-warning system had been installed by the U.S., Louisiana State University, and the UN in Dacca just weeks before the disaster. However, being aware of the impending storm and informing the populace about it are two very different propositions. The only infrastructure for warning available to Bangladeshi officials was radio, which proved ineffective, as very few of those affected could afford a radio.

Though the proportions of this year's disaster are enormous, they are dwarfed by the death counts from Bangladesh's 1970 cyclone and tidal wave, which left at least 300,000 dead. Clearly, if the effects of these inevitable seasonal storms are to be minimized, greater resources will have to be spent on development of more effective warning, evacuation, and fortification systems. □

Kemp Moves to Block UNFPA China Funding

International family planning assistance is once again being threatened, this time because of efforts by Rep. Jack Kemp (R-NY) to limit U.S. population aid to any organization which helps fund coercive abortion. The Kemp Amendment, which is attached to the Supplemental Appropriations Bill for foreign aid for FY 1985, has been approved by the full House.

Aimed at limiting population aid to China, Kemp's amendment stipulates that "none of the funds made available in the bill nor any unobligated balances from prior appropriations may be made available to any organization or program which supports or participates in the management of a program of coer-

Continued on next page

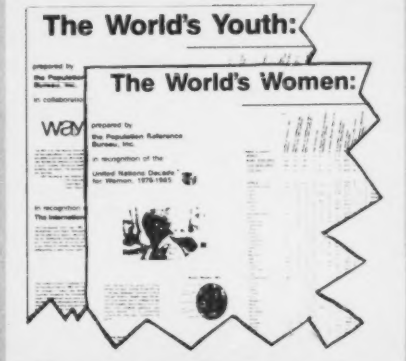
New Data Sheets Profile Worlds' Youth, Women

PRB has just published two data sheets in cooperation with international organizations.

This year—1985—is International Youth Year, being celebrated all over the world with conferences and awareness programs. PRB has developed a Youth Data Sheet in cooperation with the World Assembly of Youth, containing copious statistics on the youth of 170 countries. A youth is defined as someone age 15-24: 940 million people fit in this category—nearly one of every five people on earth.

Youths are a vital population component, of course, for many reasons. They are important to the labor market, as well as to fertility—two factors that have a great bearing on the world's future. The world continues to be young, due to the continuous baby boom resulting from high fertility rates. The data sheet shows that about 58 percent of the people in the less developed countries are under 25.

The Youth Data Sheet contains 10 columns on such data as average number of children per woman and percent of population below age 25. Perhaps the best snapshot of what the present-day world is like can be gleaned from a special column of the Youth Data Sheet—survival from birth to age 20. While such survival is all but routine in the more developed countries (98 percent of those born reach age 20 or beyond), the less developed countries are another story. In the LDCs, excluding China, only about four out of every five children born lives to reach age 20. In Sierra Leone only three out of five reach age 20.



1985 also marks the end of the United Nations Decade for Women. Though no one can say for sure, the world's 2.41 billion women seem to be the world's largest minority: As close as anyone can estimate, they make up 49.78 percent of the world's population.

The other new data sheet from PRB, *The World's Women: A Profile*, prepared in recognition of the UN Decade for Women, details the essential statistics of women in 170 countries, showing their total numbers country by country, as well as such male-female variables as literacy and school enrollment. The extent of women's contraceptive use is also covered, for countries where statistics are available. The Women's Data Sheet was distributed at the Conference to Review and Appraise the UN Decade for Women in Nairobi, Kenya, in July. □

The two 18 1/2-inch x 24-inch wallcharts are available from PRB for $2.00 ea. Handling charges: Inside the U.S., add $1.00 for each order; outside the U.S., add 25 percent to the cost of the order. Orders of $20.00 and under must be prepaid. Send order and remittance (checks payable to PRB) to Circulation Dept., PRB, P.O Box 35012, Washington, D.C. 20013.

FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

This year's *Data Sheet* puts total world population at 4.845 billion at mid-1985... —*PT*, April 1985

But what's mid-year? Not necessarily a point in time (after all, not even 12 noon July 1 is perfectly mid-year during leap years, and in any case demographers don't make statistical distinctions between regular and leap years).

Nor does "mid" quite equal *mean*. Thanks to a constantly growing base, a population that starts a year with 235 million people and then grows by a constant 0.02 percent *daily* (the U.S. numbers, as it happens) will increase by 5,640 more people in the second half of the year than it did in the first half.

No, the "mid" mark is mainly a convenient scenic overlook where a population can pause during its dash through the calendar year. And this year the day served as an excuse for this Desk to pause during the microsecond at 12 noon EDT on July 1, when the world population hit 4,845,183,000—PRB stands by its estimates—to hoist a glass and wish *PT*'s readers a Very Happy New Mid-Year!

—*Art Haupt*

Continued from previous page

cive abortion." This amendment would impede funding to the UN Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) in particular. The UNFPA had already been denied the $10 million it would have used in FY 1985 for aid to China (see *PT*, May 1985). With this amendment, Kemp has displayed his displeasure over the UNFPA receiving any U.S. funding.

Over on the Senate side, however, the Appropriations Committee has amended the Kemp Amendment in a way that could severely impair its efficacy. Their new language, proposed by Sen. Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii), requires that in order for the Kemp prohibition to be implemented, the President must officially determine that (1) China's population program is one of coercive abortion and (2) the UNFPA participates in the management of a program of coercive abortion. Hill observers find it unlikely that the current administration would be willing to threaten U.S.-China relations by determining that China has an official policy of coercive abortion.

In another development, Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) has further amended the Kemp Amendment to include "involuntary sterilization" as a practice (in addition to Kemp's "coercive abortion") that would disqualify an organization or program from receiving U.S. government funding. The bill will go to conference committee where the differences between the House and Senate versions will be reconciled.

Whether or not the Kemp Amendment (which covers only funds for FY 1985 and would not be part of permanent law) is rendered ineffective, efforts on the Hill to restrict international family planning assistance will continue. Rep. Chris Smith (R-N.J.) has introduced similar legislation—combining Kemp's intent with that of Helms—in the form of an amendment to the foreign assistance authorization bill for FY 1986. Congress's reaction to Smith's efforts, as well as to those who intend to nullify Smith's bill through amendments, remains to be seen. More on this legislation in next month's *PT*.

SURVEY REPORT

Jordan

Jordan has released results from the 1983 survey of fertility and family health, taken by its Dept. of Statistics in collaboration with the U.S. Centers for Disease Control.

The survey indicates that while some fertility decline has occurred, overall birth levels remain high. A national total fertility rate (TFR) of 6.6 lifetime births per woman was estimated from the survey, which interviewed 3,939 ever-married women. This TFR represents a notable drop from an estimated rate of 7.7 in the early 1970s, but much of the drop has been caused by a rising age at marriage rather than a sharp increase in family planning. In 1983, 26 percent of the married women said that they were contracepting (21 percent were using a modern method), a three-point increase over 1976 survey data.

"Unmet need," or the percentage of women exposed to the risk of pregnancy, not using family planning, but not wishing to become pregnant, amounted to about 20 percent of the women interviewed.

While there has been some decline in fertility, the survey results indicate that the desired number of children is still quite high. For women with 5 living children, nearly three-quarters said that their last pregnancy was planned and an additional 15 percent said it was "mistimed." Only for those women with 6 or more living children was a significant proportion, 31 percent, of last pregnancies unwanted.

Overall, 58 percent of the women with a birth in the previous five years reported that they had had a prenatal exam, with a higher rate of 70 percent reported for those living in large urban areas (Amman, Zarka, and Irbid).

As previous surveys in Jordan have indicated, small declines in fertility notwithstanding, the desire for large numbers of children suggests that any future birth rate decreases will be slow in coming. □

New NAS Study Estimates 2 to 4 Million Illegals

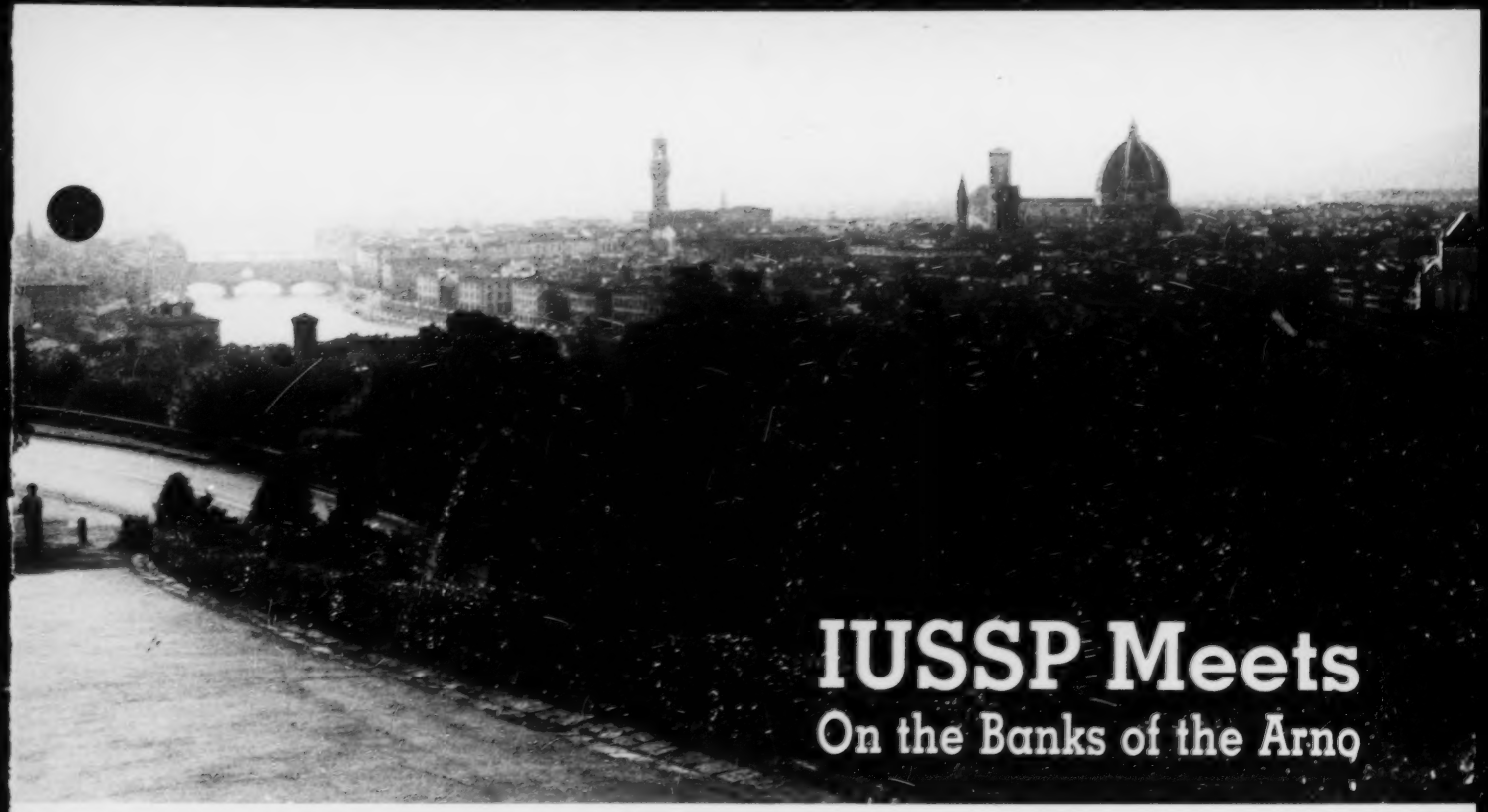
Only 2 to 4 million illegal immigrants reside in the U.S., a number much smaller than had previously been estimated, according to a National Academy of Sciences (NAS) panel.

The panel concluded that the number of illegal aliens has not risen as sharply since the late 1970s as had been stated by Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) officials. In fact, the panel reported, available INS data suggest that the population of deportable aliens has increased little, if at all, since 1977.

The NAS panel criticized the INS for not keeping adequate statistics on immigration, reporting that as a result, immigration policy "has been made in a vacuum." These findings, along with any estimates regarding illegal immigration, are politically sensitive. Opponents of immigration control could well use the panel's findings to argue that the problem of illegal immigration has been exaggerated, while supporters of controls might insist that the previous estimates are more accurate.

The NAS panel also found that data on emigration from the U.S. were "totally lacking." It recommended that the Census Bureau produce and publish such data. □

The report, *Immigration Statistics: A Story of Neglect*, is available from National Academy Press, 2101 Constitution Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20418. Price: $23.95.



IUSSP Meets
On the Banks of the Arno

"[We] demographers are increasingly called upon to move from . . . ivory towers to explain the practical relevance of our research and suggest action programs to policymakers and planners. Especially in developing countries, we can't afford the luxury of not being involved."

Flanked by trumpet-bearing pages in Medieval doublets, with TV cameras recording the scene, Mercedes Concepcion of the Philippines, outgoing president of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP), reminded her audience of the real world beyond the ornate Grande Salone of Florence's Palazzo Vecchio at the opening of the Union's June 5-12 general conference.

Over 900 registered participants—plus perhaps half as many untallied camp followers—were there from all parts of the world to hear her message. Invited by Italy's National Population Commission with the blessing of the national and Tuscan regional governments, the gathering was the 20th general conference of the IUSSP, which meets every four years. Born at the prompting of Margaret Sanger at the first World Population Conference which she organized in Geneva in 1927, the Union now counts 1,819 members elected from among population scholars in over 100 countries.

Undaunted by the rich distractions of Florence, Concepcion's opener set the tone for what became a central theme—the crucial role of demographers in development. This was amply illustrated by the 1984 International Population Conference in Mexico, as UNFPA director Rafael Salas reminded the opening day audience.

If "too much is [being] expected of demographers," as Srikantan of India later put it, Norman Ryder (Canada/U.S.) and many others suggested that the demographic field must rely on other scientists—economists, medical specialists, etc.—to help provide the objective data and practical direction needed to integrate population concerns with development goals. To capture busy policymakers' attention, scholarly jargon must be translated and reports kept short, said Dov Chernichovsky (Israel) and Jerzy Holzer (Poland). Use the media to conscript public opinion, it was also advised. "Politicians react to public opinion," said Rudolf Andorka of Hungary.

Evidence of important contributions by demographers came from a battery of China's leading demographers present at the conference. Heartened by praise lavished on the thoroughness and accuracy of China's census and national fertility survey of 1982, the Chinese delegation—led by census director Liu Zheng—noted that the country's one-child policy would be necessary "only for the 1980s and 1990s" to dampen the momentum created by the baby boom generation of the 1960s and early 1970s now entering childbearing ages. This would enable China to attain its goal of stabilizing the population at around 1.34 billion in 2034. U.S. demographers Judith Banister and Eduardo Arriaga suggested that China might ease the one-child policy even earlier because of the government's desire for popular support and because of distortions in the age distribution that will result from continuing a one-child regime for too long.

According due voice to less developed country (LDC) demographers within the IUSSP itself became an issue in elections for the incoming governing Council, held on the third day. Though LDCs now account for 43 percent of the membership, Secretary-Treasurer Georges Tapinos reported, only three of the nine new or reelected "regular" Council members (Jose Alberto de Carvalho of Brazil, Mohammed El-Badry, Egypt, and Jorge Somoza, Argentina) and none of the top three for 1985-1989 (President William Brass of the U.K., Vice President Massimo Livi Bacci of Italy, and Secretary-General/Treasurer Tapinos, France) come from developing countries. Members from France and other developed countries led the initiative to seek ways to redress this imbalance, and to involve more women, represented on the new Council only by Charlotte Hohn of West Germany. Women make up about 23 percent of

Continued on next page

At Florence, IUSSP members met from around the world.

Chinese attendees at the Palazzo dei Congressi.

Continued from preceding page

members (an estimate hindered by difficulties in ascertaining gender from registered names, IUSSP administrative staff admitted).

Europeans' concerns received full play in a session on "responses to policies aimed at increasing fertility in low-fertility countries." Government efforts in this direction were viewed with skepticism, although East German, French, Hungarian, and Polish demographers reported that policies *had* made a difference in their countries. A Norwegian's suggestion that efforts be made to stem the rising tide of low-fertility, nonmarital cohabitation was countered by Sweden's Erland Hofsten—"Why not encourage single people to have children?" He was backed by Natalie Kyriazis of Canada: "Childbearing outside of marriage may be more attractive to women." A U.S. participant asked: "If Europeans are concerned about low fertility, why are you closing your doors to immigrants?"

Logistics and Attractions

After the gala opening, conference meetings shifted to the modern Palazzo degli Affari and neighboring Palazzo dei Congressi, conveniently close to the railroad station. A bar, two cafeterias, and ample extra meeting room space facilitated all-important contact-making in and out of business hours. Simultaneous French-English translations over individual receivers smoothed communication during sessions.

Florence itself was a prominent presence. Participants talked of narrow escapes and disturbed sleep from noisy two- and four-wheeled vehicles and widely varying hotel prices and quality. But this was countered by fascination with the city's beauty, rich culture, and antiquity—and the temptation (stoutly resisted) to become full-time tourists.

The Pitti Palace was the site of one of the two elegant receptions arranged by the local organizing committee (under Livi Bacci), with a sumptuous buffet in the courtyard—quickly devoured by the assembled throng—followed by free viewing and chatting in the magnificent upstairs galleries of Renaissance paintings and statuary.

The working side of the conference included 29 "formal" sessions, 12 "informal" sessions, and four "side meetings," four or five of which were going on simultaneously. In a marvel of preplanning, the IUSSP administration had the three or four papers selected for each formal session ready for each participant upon registration, in three volumes weighing in at 5 pounds—even airmailing selected papers in advance to people registered before March 31. Upwards of 200 more "contributed"—though unpublished—papers were available in quantity in the registration hall. One could always read the papers later, but not attending the three-hour sessions would have meant missing the flavor of discussants' remarks on these papers (which were not read at the time), authors' rebuttals, chairpersons' introductions and summaries, and pithy observations from the floor.

The five full and two half days of meetings (interrupted by Saturday afternoon and Sunday off for wandering in the Uffizi gallery and beyond) also included opening and closing plenary sessions, three "general assemblies" limited to bona fide IUSSP members, and various specialized attractions. These ranged from the first member meeting of the new European Association for Population Studies to a meeting of Canadians called to discuss creation of a national committee to promote a larger Canadian voice in IUSSP affairs (an idea discouraged by one attendee on the basis of the political hazards of national committees, around which IUSSP was organized before World War II).

Other sideline attractions were daily TV screen showings of population-related documentary films, the IUSSP's display of photos and letters documenting its history "from Margaret Sanger to Mercedes Concepcion," a lavish book and journal exhibit, and exhibits on the History of Tuscany and the Population of Italy.

The opening plenary featured three titans speaking on "demographers' views of the 21st century." Louis Henry of France and William Brass agreed that the profession could congratulate itself on its vast accumulation of data since it began in 1662 with John Graunt's Bills of Mortality. The record was shakier on projections but likely to improve—a prediction guaranteed by the marvelous machinations of computers, said Nathan Keyfitz of the U.S., who enthusiastically distributed handouts of many-varianted graphic projections performed on his Japanese IBM-compatible personal computer.

Themes, Subjects, Methodologies

Cross-cultural perspectives were emphasized at the meeting. With so many different nations represented, generalizations based on only one country's experience were not in order. In many sessions—for example on mortality trends in developed countries and the relation between demography and the biomedical sciences—evidence from varying nations demonstrated how demographic trends are shaped differently by different sociocultural settings and histories.

Techniques of analysis and data collection need to be sharpened not only in developing but developed countries, it was agreed. New findings call for reexamination of many past assumptions about demographic behavior. On the demographic transition, for example, the U.S.'s Judith Blake suggested that the view that transition from high to

Continued on next page

Tom Merrick

Sessions featured discussions, not paper readings.

Tom Merrick

Nafis Sadik and Steve Sinding.

Continued from preceding page

low fertility requires the social conditions associated with industrialization and modernization (education, participation of women in the workforce, etc.) may have to be revised. Papers presented in a session on "patterns and trends in causes of death in low mortality countries" challenged the tradition of establishing one underlying cause of death when, increasingly, older age is associated with multiple chronic illnesses.

Mortality is again high on the demographic research agenda, especially in regard to developing countries. This is prompted in part by the wealth of data on infant and child mortality and related socioeconomic variables generated by the World Fertility Survey and other surveys, and concern about stalled life expectancy gains in some LDCs. Mortality analysis could be improved if demographers incorporated biomedical factors in their explanatory models and medically oriented researchers paid attention to demographic and socioeconomic factors. Commentators noted the importance of the diffusion of knowledge about health and health care as well as access to new technology in explaining mortality differentials and improvements in life expectancy. Health-care knowledge was also cited as the key factor in the greater class differentials in mortality observed today compared to the past.

Debate on the consequences of rapid population growth reflected the recent shift of emphasis away from the global effects of population change to issues such as rapid urban growth and its effects on housing, nutrition, education, and employment for the growing number of young adults in LDC cities. Population distribution, within as well as between countries, also returned to center stage. Few of the problems raised were new, but the sheer vastness of today's numbers heightens the challenges they represent for both developing and developed societies.

Micro approaches to demographic analysis received frequent endorsement. Focusing on small well-researched samples with in-depth interviewing, "pocket demographers" can unveil trends undetectable in census and national survey data—the twists and turns in proliferating family and nonfamily life styles in developed countries, for example.

Among other recommended methodological fine-tuning methods included: "decomposing" variables to study short-term shifts in trends usually averaged over time (employment fluctuations due to short-term economic conditions, for example), relating fertility, migration, and women's employment to family life cycle stages.

In a session on the future of family planning, Srikantan of India declared that "a steady growth of contraception in developing countries over the next 45 years is unlikely to happen" because social conditions in his view are not changing rapidly enough to bring about the requisite drop in desired family size. Charles Westoff of the U.S. was more optimistic, citing contraceptive prevalence surveys that indicate contraceptive prevalence (behavior) going up faster than changes in fertility attitudes (the percentage of women wanting no more children). Also, research by Robert Lapham and Parker Mauldin of the U.S. continues to show that family planning program efforts—which are increasing in most LDCs—boost contraceptive prevalence more than would be expected on the basis of social setting alone. Even in India, it was reported, the percentage of eligible couples using contraception went up some 10 points—from 22 to about 32 percent—between 1981 and the beginning of 1985.

Reports by Sieu-Ean Khoo of the Australian National University and the U.S.-based Association for Voluntary Sterilization confirm that sterilization—especially female sterilization—is probably now the world's leading contraceptive method, dominated by its popularity in China, India, and the "West," though not in Africa. Increases in the use of sterilization may have slowed in the early 1980s, perhaps due in developed countries to increasing cohabitation, delayed marriage, and divorce.

Winding Up IUSSP Business

Passed by a show of hands at the third business meeting was a proposed amendment to remove from the IUSSP constitution a clause that has reduced the weight of votes by members living in countries accounting for more than one-eighth of members, specifically the U.S. (which constitutes 26 percent of members counted by country of residence as of the end of 1984). The motion now goes to a written ballot by the entire IUSSP membership.

Upcoming IUSSP-sponsored conferences include one on "Population Issues and Prospects in Europe," organized along with the European Association for Population Studies and the Finnish Demographic Society and slated for June 11-16, 1987, in Jyvakskyla, Finland, and an African regional conference, tentatively scheduled for 1988. Sites offered for IUSSP's next general conference, to be held in 1989, were Australia (preferably in December 1988, to cash in on funding available during Australia's bicentennial being celebrated that year); New Delhi (preferably not in June, India's hottest month); and Oslo, Norway (in June 1989), although the Norwegian spokesperson modestly added—"What can we offer after fabulous Florence?"

—reported by Alice T. Day, Thomas W. Merrick, and Jean van der Tak

[1]Other elected regular Council members: Charlotte Hohn, West Germany; Shigemi Kono, Japan; Geoffrey McNicoll, Australia; Roland Pressat, France; Samuel Preston, U.S.; Leon Tabah, France.

photo on page 5 by Jean van der Tak

DEMOGRAPHER'S

Stalls in Fertility Decline in Costa Rica, Korea, and Sri Lanka

by Murray Gendell

This study seeks to answer two questions. First, are there developing countries whose decline in fertility was rapid but then decelerated greatly or stopped altogether? Secondly, if there are, what would cause such fertility declines to falter?

The number of developing countries which have experienced such a stall for at least five years at a level well above replacement, and for which quality data are available, is limited. It is, however, possible to study three such countries: Costa Rica, Korea, and Sri Lanka. In all three, the total fertility rate (TFR) began a sustained rapid decline during the 1960s (though in Sri Lanka the decline may have begun during the 1950s).

These declines began to stall around 1975. Korea, though, experienced such a pause earlier, and is the only one of the three in which two stalls occurred. Moreover, while the TFR leveled off during the late 1970s in Costa Rica and Sri Lanka, it continued to fall in Korea, but at a much slower pace than during the previous declines. The stalls which began in the late 1970s had not ended as of the most recent years for which data were available (1980-1982). (See Figure 1, which includes the fertility trend of Sweden, a low-fertility country, for comparison).

The explanations of the stalls are partial, and they differ from one country to the next.

Costa Rica

In Costa Rica, the fall of marital fertility and increase in contraceptive use slowed, apparently as a result of (1) convergence between desired and actual fertility in the mid-1970s, and (2) a weakening of the family planning program, as the initial enthusiasm and political support waned.

Because the explanation of the stall—the equilibrium between desired and actual fertility—seems to be simpler and clearer in the case of Costa Rica than of Korea or Sri Lanka (see below), it is easier to identify in Costa Rica what may be needed for the stall to end. Actual fertility could fall below desired family size, but it is more likely that a further decline in fertility awaits a decline in desired size. The available evidence about the determinants of desired size in Costa Rica is meager. In the past, researchers have made theoretically based conjectures about the effects of social and economic development. More evidence concerning the specific mechanisms linking development to changes in desired size would be helpful in accounting for the past trend in fertility and for projecting its future course.

Short of that, however, one may venture to speculate along the lines found in the literature. In that view, further substantial economic growth may be critical for expansion of education and social welfare to continue. Some of the consequences of such an expansion would be increases in the aspirations for higher social and economic status, the labor-force participation of women, the dependency (and hence cost) of children (as schooling lengthens), and the care and financial support provided the elderly via a combination of personal savings, better health, communal care facilities and services, and public and private pension programs.

If desired size were to fall substantially below the level of the late 1970s, then the status of the family planning program would be relevant. What would renew the enthusiasm and political support that enabled Costa Rica's National Family Planning Program (NFPP) to expand so vigorously for a number of years after its establishement in 1968 before it peaked and then declined during the late 1970s?

One possibility is that with the hypothesized substantial decline in desired family size, the resultant gap between actual and desired size would stimulate a considerable increase in demand for family planning services and supplies, which among other things, could have an effect on the willingness of the leaders to support the NFPP more vigorously than they seem to have done during the 1970s. The leaders may also be stimulated to take such action by a renewed sense of concern about the deleterious effects of the country's continued high rate of population growth. Although the birth rate dropped a great deal between 1960 and 1975, some of the decline was offset by a continued fall in the death rate. Furthermore, the rate of population growth was so high in 1960 that, even with a substantial decline during the next 15 years, the rate was still considerable in 1975.

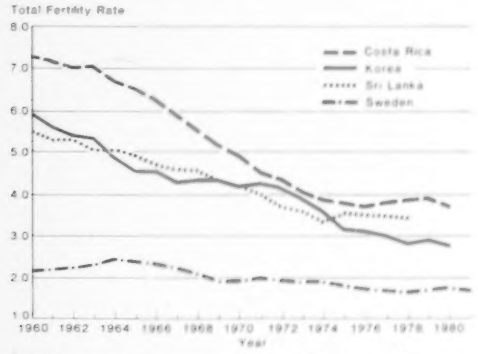
Korea

In Korea, at least some of the reasons for the near leveling off of the TFR during the late 1960s seem to be evident. But the explanation for the deceleration after 1975 is not. During the earlier period, an increase in marriage among women 30-49 years old, as well as an increase in marital fertility of those under age 30, offset declines in marriage among women 15-29 years old and in the marital fertility of women age 30-49. The rise in the marital fertility of younger women is accounted for by a sharp decrease in the first three birth intervals, resulting from increases in premaritally conceived first births (associated

PAGE

Murray Gendell is professor and chair, Dept. of Demography, Georgetown University.

"Figure 1. How Fertility Declines Have Stalled"



Sources. TFRs gathered from various sources, listed in detail in the author's Working Paper, the World Bank, in press.

with a shift from arranged to romantic marriages), declines in the duration of breastfeeding, and an apparently growing desire to terminate childbearing early. The increase in contraceptive use slowed markedly during the late 1960s.

During the late 1970s in Korea, the marital fertility of women 25-29 years old increased a bit, reversing the moderate decline of the early 1970s. Among wives 30-34 years old, fertility continued to fall during the late 1970s, but at less than half the rate of the early part of that decade. By the late 1970s, childbearing had become so concentrated that almost half of the TFR was accounted for by the birth rate of women aged 25-29, and about two-thirds by women age 25-34. The increase in contraceptive use decelerated during the late 1970s and early 1980s (especially the latter period), after the acceleration of the early 1970s. The reasons for these changes have not, however, been identified.

Sri Lanka

The explanation for the fertility stall during the late 1970s in Sri Lanka is also quite limited. A large increase in contraceptive use occurred between between 1975 and 1982. Surveys indicate that at least some of the fertility-depressing effect of this contraceptive use increase was offset by an increase in marriage, which seems to have begun prior to 1978 with improved economic conditions apparently strengthening the rising trend of marriage. A reduction in the long duration of breastfeeding which had been practiced in Sri Lanka would have tended to increase fertility, but the evidence is too meager for one to be confident that such a decline in the duration of breastfeeding actually occurred.

Further Comments About Korea and Sri Lanka

Since the causes of the stalls in Korea and Sri Lanka seem to be more complex and less explicable than those in Costa Rica, one can do little more than offer a few pertinent comments and queries. In both countries, large declines in the percent married have played an important role in bringing about the fall in fertility, and reversals in the decline in marriage have contributed to the stalls. In both societies, celibacy is rare, so the significant variable is age at marriage. Given the large rise in age at marriage already seen in these countries, it seems unlikely that a further significant increase will take place. But what about declines in age at marriage? They have occurred, but apparently only temporarily or with relatively little effect. In the future will the age at marriage fluctuate around the current level, or might it fall considerably?

There is evidence that breastfeeding has been declining in both countries. More detailed and precise measures of the extent and pace of the declines, as well as their impact on fertility, are needed. However, the rapid increases in contraceptive use in both countries may reach such high levels (70 percent or more of women of childbearing age) in the near future as to reduce greatly the potential impact of further declines in breastfeeding. In Korea, but not Sri Lanka, there is a marked preference for sons. There is disagreement, however, about the extent to which son preference is an obstacle to further fertility decline. With a TFR well below 3 children per woman in the early 1980s (hence, not far above the replacement level of fertility), the resolution of this issue in Korea would be particularly helpful in judging the prospects for and pace of a further decline in fertility.

In Sri Lanka, on the other hand, an impressively large proportion of contraceptors continue to use rhythm and other traditional methods. About half of the large increase in contraceptive use from 1975 to 1982 resulted from an increase in the use of these methods. How effective have traditional methods been in preventing pregnancies (and, given the virtual absence of induced abortion, in preventing births) in Sri Lanka, in comparison with the modern methods (pill, IUD, tubal ligation, etc.)? Also, why have so many Sri Lankan women continued to use the traditional methods? Answers to these questions would better enable us to judge the likely future mix of methods and the extent to which such a mix would enable women in Sri Lanka to control their fertility.

No Key Factors

It would be risky to draw general conclusions about the reasons for stalls in fertility declines on the basis of this study in only three coun-

Continued on next page

Continued from preceding page

tries, even if the explanations for the stalls were more complete and better documented than is the case in this study. Nevertheless, the diversity of the apparent reasons for the fertility stall among the three countries suggests that there may be few, if any, universally applicable factors, and that the means to prevent or overcome stalls will have to be developed on the basis of as complete an understanding of the system of fertility determinants in each country as can be obtained. □

Note

This Demographer's Page is based on a background paper prepared by the author for the World Bank's *1984 World Development Report*. The full paper will be published in Fall 1985 as part of the World Bank's Working Paper Series.

Employment

Continued from page 2

could happen as skilled blue-collar workers and mid-level managers, who have traditionally filled a "middle tier" of position and salary, are replaced by machines, or by lower paid service-industry employees.

Some writers disagree with the polarization theory, arguing that a closer analysis of trends shows that the two-tier thesis doesn't hold water because the bottom tier itself (laborers, service workers, etc.) is declining as a proportion of total employment; meanwhile the middle-income group is being kept in predominance by the aging bulge of baby boomers (as people age, they tend to become more productive, economically speaking).

Certainly the baby boomers (those born in 1947-1961) represent a wild card in most U.S. demographic speculations; if a two-tier system does evolve, advancement-frustrated baby boomers may cling to the few remaining middle rungs of the career ladder, thwarting in turn the post-baby boomers who follow. The less numerous members of the post-1961 birth cohorts may have fewer problems getting on the career ladder than climbing it.

In the long run, many futurologists see employment as being more and more a "privilege," contingent on society's ability to spread out available work as widely among the citizenry as possible. Examples of ways to ensure this equitable distribution include the alternatives offered by David Freedman, writing in the *International Labor Review*: reduced working hours per week, part-time work, "cyclic life pattern" (inserting some leisure or study time in the middle of the career years, rather than at the beginning and end).

It's interesting that the more developed countries (MDCs) are having such professed difficulty in providing jobs. Not only are these countries well capitalized for industrial expansion, but they are experiencing extremely low fertility, so that the roughly 17 million people entering the job market each year represent only a small fraction (1.3 percent) of the total MDC population. In the less developed countries (LDCs), by contrast, where four-fifths of humanity live, some 80 million enter the job market annually (2.2 percent of the LDC population).

It's not as though 80 million new factory jobs have to be created in the LDCs each year (though unemployment and underemployment would be alleviated and the quality of life made possibly more just if that were the case). In fact, most LDC people are absorbed by family agriculture. But, generally speaking, jobs in the LDCs are usually a more serious matter than in MDCs. LDC jobs enable the holder to either produce, or trade for, sustenance (i.e., literally earn a living). By contrast, MDC jobs are in some sense simply a socially sanctioned basis for allocating to the job holder his or her piece of the GNP pie. □

Improved Conditions Necessary for LDCs' Most Important Resource

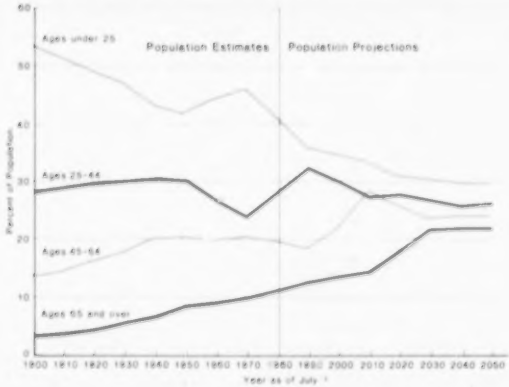
William U. Chandler, the author of "Investing in Children," *Worldwatch Paper 64*, traveled to Africa to research this appraisal of living (and dying) conditions of children in the developing world.

The report, which focuses on the effect of development on children, serves to reemphasize the plight of the poorest of the world. It makes recommendations for reducing in-

Continued on page 12

SPEAKING GRAPHICALLY

Trends in Age Distribution of United States Population, 1900-2050



During the 20th century, the U.S.'s age structure has tended to become more even: note the convergence in size of the above age groups. In 1900, the percentage of the population under 25 was 50 percentage points larger than those over 65. By 2050, that gap will narrow to less than 10 percent.

Source. Statistical Bulletin, January-March 1984, based on U.S. Census Bureau data.

WORLD FOOD NEWS

While Africa experiences its worst food shortage ever, population pressure is gravely affecting a formerly widespread tropical farming system—shifting cultivation. In a recent report, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the UN highlights the serious impact of the demise of shifting cultivation in Africa.

This centuries-old food producing technique, once practiced throughout Africa, involves the selective clearance of forests and woodlands, with the debris then being burned and the ashes used to fertilize fragile topsoils. Cultivation is interspersed with long fallow periods, allowing for the regrowth of natural vegetation and the restoration of soil fertility.

But the FAO report, "Changes in Shifting Cultivation in Tropical Africa," says increased population densities have led to a drastic reduction in fallow periods. This is causing widespread land degradation and resulting in diminished yields of food. Such intensive farming can be sustained only with inputs such as chemical fertilizers, which are well beyond the reach of most of Africa's small-scale farmers. As a result, food production will plummet even more sharply. □

World Food News is prepared by the North American Liaison Office of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

Inter-American Migration Urged

The Assistant Secretary General of the Organization of American States (OAS), Amb. Val T. McComie, recently called for a plan which will challenge the imaginations of country leaders in the Americas: "an organized plan of migration, developed at the governmental level," to facilitate the flow of migrants among the countries of North America, Latin America, and the Caribbean.

Speaking at the Conference of Caribbean Parliamentarians on Population and Development in St. Peter, Barbados, Amb. McComie explained that, as he saw it, a planned migration scheme would allow countries with excess population to find outlets that permit them to remain within optimal conditions to promote their own development, while providing recipient countries with the human resources needed to contribute to their advancement. He urged conference participants to consider such an inter-American migration plan, which he said is designed to distribute more evenly the hemisphere's population so that the untapped resources of the Americas can be better used for the well-being of coming generations.

The Ambassador said that he did not believe that language, cultural, or racial differences were barriers to the feasibility of such a program. □

Expulsion Movements Continue in Africa

Mass expulsion is one kind of migration. In recent years this kind of population movement has been much in evidence—not only with political expulsions such as Vietnam's boat people, but temporary immigrants who have "outstayed their welcome" as well.

On April 16, the Nigerian government announced it would expel approximately 700,000 illegal aliens, nearly half of them from Ghana. By May, more than 52,000 Ghanaians, unable to legalize their status, had left the country.

Expulsion of non-nationals has been a recurring event in West African coastal states. Last April's action is certainly not the first of its kind. In 1983 Nigeria ejected some 2 million illegal aliens, perhaps half of whom were Ghanaians, and in 1969 a few thousand to perhaps 100,000 Nigerians were expelled from Ghana. □

Population Update

Estimated United States Population:

As of Mar. 1, 1985	238,128,000
As of Mar. 1, 1984	236,009,000

The above estimates include armed forces overseas and are from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 968.

Estimated World Population:

As of June 1985	4,845,000,000
Annual Growth	82,000,000

From data on the 1985 World Population Data Sheet.

Latest Provisional Statistics for the U.S.: March 1985

Item	12 months ending with March: Number 1985	Number 1984	Rate 1985	Rate 1984	Rate 1983	Rate 1982
Live births	3,699,000	3,617,000	15.6	15.4	16.0	15.9
Deaths	2,073,000	2,019,000	8.8	8.6	8.6	8.5
Natural increase	1,626,000	1,598,000	6.8	6.8	7.4	7.4
Marriages	2,458,000	2,452,000	10.4	10.5	10.7	10.6
Divorces	1,159,000	1,167,000	4.9	5.0	5.1	5.3
Infant deaths	39,000	39,200	10.5	10.9	11.1	11.5
Population base (in millions)	...	...	236.7	234.4	232.1	230.0

Note. Rates are given per 1,000 population, except for infant deaths, which are given per 1,000 live births. Rates are based on revised population estimates from the 1980 Census.

Source: Monthly Vital Statistics Report (Vol. 34, No. 3) from the National Center for Health Statistics.

Investing in Children

Continued from page 10

fant and child mortality and providing better standards of living for those who survive—who are, after all, the LDCs' most important resource. An investment in today's children, says Chandler, is an investment in the future.

According to the report, about 17 million children die each year, and though rates of mortality have declined, population growth results in as many children suffering and dying today as 20 years ago. Two-thirds of these deaths, Chandler says, could be prevented with relatively simple improvements in primary education, primary health care, family planning, and peasant agriculture.

Chandler applauds such programs as the highly successful oral rehydration therapy (ORT) which treats diarrhea, but points out that only 10 percent of Third World children have access to it. In addition, less than half of the world's children have been inoculated against major childhood diseases.

The report stresses that female education is an important key to the success of any such program, be it ORT, family planning, or immunization. The negative relationship between literacy levels of mothers and infant mortality rates is distressingly correlative.

Family planning reduces infant mortality by avoiding the highest-risk pregnancies, Chandler reports. The spacing of children contributes to the health of both mothers and babies.

"Unless developed and Third World governments make major new commitments to improving child health, millions of children will continue to die unnecessarily," Chandler concludes. □

Copies of *Worldwatch Paper 64*, "Investing in Children," by William U. Chandler, are available from the Worldwatch Institute, 1776 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Single copies are $4.00 each; 2-5 copies, $3.00 each, 6-20 copies, $2.00 each.

OPINION

by Walter W. Haines

There is much debate these days over an appropriate rate of population growth, which is simply a single aspect of the dispute over an optimum level of population. What is too few or too many? Julian L. Simon, as one of the most vocal advocates of high growth, often seems to be saying that output per capita would be greater with a very rapid rate of growth and an apparently infinite ultimate level. But closer reading suggests that this is not really his position.

Consider some fundamental concepts. If there were no people on the earth, there could obviously be no such thing as production. At a slightly higher population level, one self-sufficient person (or family) would be terribly inefficient as a production unit. But at the other end of the population scale, there is some large number of people (a quintillion, perhaps) that would so exceed the physical limits of the earth that it would be impossible to carry on production of any kind; there would no longer be room to stand. Thus the curve of production per capita is zero for no population at all, and zero for a population of 1 quintillion, while it is positive for a population of a thousand or a billion. Thus there must be some point between zero and infinity where the output per capita reaches a maximum and starts to decline.

We do not know where this point is, and this is the crux of the issue. Most environmentalists believe that we are past it. Simon obviously believes that we have not yet reached it. Putting the discussion in this context emphasizes that it is a dispute over degree, not over fundamental principles, and recognizing this fact is clearly more helpful than simply accepting (or rejecting) Simon's seemingly absolute statement that, regardless of the level of population, "Adding more people will...leave us with the bonus of lower costs and less scarcity in the long run" (*The Ultimate Resource*, pp. 345-346).

Simon himself does not believe that this is true at all levels. He notes at several points in his book that the real reason why we do not have to worry about population increase is that ordinary people will naturally reduce their fertility rates when they "recognize a reasonable limit" (p. 283). In such a recognition of natural adjustment he appears to accept the thesis of the "demographic transition," probably the most widely held view of population change. More important, the idea that people will react to limits is a contradiction of the assertion that there are none. And it suggests that we might very well want to try to find out where they are.

Walter W. Haines is professor of economics, New York University.

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ Population Stars at the Bijou ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

The importance of population issues in many commercial motion pictures may not be immediately obvious. Nonetheless, with a little effort, the population (or movie) enthusiast can detect a demographic subtext in many films of today and yesterday. In an incomplete but enthusiastic attempt to glean some of these themes, we have compiled a list of 10 flicks in which population "plays a role," if only a bit part.

Fertility: Older American films were often wont to extoll the virtues of a large family. In *Cheaper By the Dozen* (1950), 12 is considered the most economically efficient number of children to have. And in *Yours, Mine and Ours* (1968) widower Henry Fonda has 10 children yet marries widow Lucille Ball, who comes with eight of her own. Amazingly, the couple links the two families by having a 19th child during their first year of marriage. Both these films are based on true stories.

Mortality: The Academy Award-winning *Amadeus* (1984's Best Picture) presents an engrossing study in life expectancy: Did Mozart, who died at age 35, really miss all that much? Yes and no. Life expectancy in the 18th century was not much higher than 35, due in part to high infant mortality. A very large proportion of Mozart's birth cohort (among others) died in childhood; in fact, Mozart lived long enough to see all four of his own children die. Nonetheless a few people, including Mozart's nemesis Antonio Salieri, lived to a comparatively miserable old age. (The medical services of the day were not much help at any stage of life.)

Morbidity: *Panic in the Streets* (1950)—the title gets right to the point. In this Elia Kazan thriller, municipal health inspector Richard Widmark chases down a vector of black plague before it can sweep through New Orleans.

Nuptiality: Changing roles within marriage and child care issues are explored in *Kramer vs Kramer* (1979). Ignored by her workaholic husband, Mrs. Kramer leaves him and their son to forge a life of her own. Mr. Kramer can no longer devote himself body and soul to his job and is forced to change his life style. On the wife's return, a tear-jerking legal custody battle (see title) ensues.

Migration: *El Norte* (1984), an episode of international and illegal migration, tells the story of a young brother and sister who are forced to leave Guatemala and struggle to reach the U.S. The young man makes good as a waiter until he is turned in by a fellow worker who feels his job is threatened by the illegal immigrant. The young woman adapts slowly to her job as a maid; baffled by household technology, she ends up washing clothes in a birdbath.

Sex differentials in assimilation are widespread because men participate in the public sector more often than women. In *Hester Street* (1975), a young Orthodox Jewish couple migrates in the 1870s to the Lower East Side of New York. The husband adapts quickly to modern American ways, but the wife is reluctant. While a movie's happy ending often depends upon compromise, in this film the wife is the victor because she sticks up for traditional values and the life style she believes in so strongly.

Age and Sex Composition: Although it may originally have served as a saccharine excuse to unite the Fondas and Katharine Hepburn onscreen, *On Golden Pond* (1981) provides a positive view of the elderly, and their relationships with their spouses and their children. The characters' affluence narrows the movie's applicability, however.

The producers might not have intended it, but high fertility and a broad-based age pyramid are major "characters" in *Pixote* (1981). This graphic Brazilian movie depicts cities (Rio and Sao Paulo) where mushrooming favelas and obscene wealth exist side by side and hordes of homeless children are exploited by corrupt adults, including the police.

Population Change: The least subtle of demographic movies must be *Soylent Green* (1973), a film that might as well have been dedicated to Thomas Malthus. In the not-too-distant future, the 40 million inhabitants of New York City are faced with overpopulation and resource scarcity. Fortunately for them, there's a mysterious factory that produces tasty food tablets (the title product) of uncertain origin. At the climax, the nature of this sustenance is finally revealed to a shocked Charlton Heston: recycled people.

—reviewed by Janine Adams and Margaret Greene

Charlton Heston and Paula Kelly in *Soylent Green;* Tom Hulce as *Amadeus.*

SOFTWHERE

DEMO-GRAPHICS is a personal computer program that graphically demonstrates population dynamics. It allows the user (who can be a teacher or student) to project on the screen an almost infinite variety of country-population graphs, charts, and demographic profiles, by responding to menu questions. It is especially suited for drawing age pyramids and plotting population change over time. And it contains demographic data for most of the world's countries, which can be plugged into the demonstrations.

DEMO-GRAPHICS was developed by the Population Dynamics Groups at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. It is available as follows:

IBM-PC version requires at least 128K of RAM. Available (with back-up and documentation) for $95.00 from COMPress, P.O. Box 102, Wentworth, N.H. 03282.

Apple II version requires at least 48K of RAM, Applesoft in ROM. Available (with documentation) for $85.00 from CONDUIT, P.O. Box 388, Iowa City, Iowa 52244.

POSITIONS/ PROFESSIONALS

Positions open in population-related fields will be published in *Population Today* on a space-available basis. Send information to Positions/Professionals, *PT*, Population Reference Bureau, 2213 M St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

Research Associate, Family Health International, to manage projects in maternal and child health care. PhD in maternal-child health, biostatistics, sociology or demography, or masters degree with several years relevant experience. Sound knowledge of statistical methods; demonstrated written and verbal communications skills required. *Send resume to:* Personnel, Family Health International, 1 Triangle Dr., Research Triangle Park, N.C. 27709. An equal opportunity/Affirmative Action Employer, M/F/H.

TAKE A NUMBER. . .

New *Data Sheet* on India: For just $2.00, one can obtain a wallchart giving about 1,400 numbers on India, its 22 States and nine Union Territories. Prepared by Prof. S.B. Mani of Slippery Rock University, the chart was produced with the cooperation of the Madras Communications Institute and is planned as an annual publication.

Modeled on PRB's *Data Sheets*, the chart gives 1981 Census populations, vital rates, area and density, age structure, contraceptive prevalence, literacy and other data in its 46 columns. For information write: Dr. S.B. Mani, 216 Kelly Blvd., Slippery Rock, Pa. 16057. Inside India, write: Madras Communications Institute, 23 21st East St., Kamraj Nagar, Madras 600 041, India.

Manufacturing Data: Sometimes it seems that the U.S. Census Bureau has data on *everything*. The 1982 Census of Manufactures reveals facts about U.S. industry you probably never dreamed existed. Did you know that there were 215 establishments making artificial flowers in 1982? That nearly as many people are employed making aircraft as automobiles (561 million vs. 616 million)? In addition, were you aware that from 1977 to 1982 the number of firms making small arms went up from 112 to 139, and milk producers declined from 1.9 to 1.2 million? To someone somewhere, this kind of detail must be vital.

Effects of Life Expectancy: The future aging of the United States is a much-discussed issue among demographers. The Census Bureau's population projections supply the basic numbers. The "middle series" projections show the age 65 and over group rising from 29 million in 1985 to 73 million in 2080; these projections assume that life expectancy will rise from about 75 years at present to 81 by 2080. To some, that may seem a conservative rise in life expectancy over nearly a century. What if the increase in life expectancy is in fact greater than that? Should it increase to about 86 by 2080, the 65-and-over group would number 88 million, 15 million more than the middle series. Most of this difference would be in the oldest of the elderly, those 85 and over. This group, which stands at 2.7 million in 1985, is projected to number 18 million under the more conservative middle series, but 29 million assuming the greatest increase in lifespan. As always, when considering future populations, it pays to look at more than one set of assumptions.

. . .addenda

Momma
By Mell Lazarus
DON'T YOU TWO ALWAYS REFER TO YOURSELVES AS "BABY-BOOMERS"?
YES, WE DO.!
WE ARE "BABY-BOOMERS"!
SO HOW COME I ONLY HAVE ONE GRANDCHILD?

Courtesy of Mell Lazarus and News America Syndicate.

CURRENT READINGS

PRB welcomes materials on population topics for possible inclusion in Current Readings. Publishers may address review copies to Book Review Editor, POPULATION TODAY, Population Reference Bureau, 2213 M St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

THE PROBLEM OF IMMIGRATION. edited by Steven Anzovin. (*The Reference Shelf*, Vol. 57, No. 1.) New York: H. W. Wilson, 1985. 156 pages. $8.00

This compilation consists of 16 reprinted articles and essays about immigration from such sources as *Atlantic, Newsweek, The Humanist,* and *Natural History*. Primarily focusing on the U.S., it examines the effects of immigration here, as well as illegal immigration, refugee policy, and the debate about immigration reform. The fifth and final section concentrates on the international aspects of migration.

A fair balance of perspectives is represented in this nontechnical book. Some of the articles are written by journalists, while others present the viewpoints of population specialists, such as Julian Simon and PRB's Leon F. Bouvier. No one viewpoint is favored. This volume will provoke the reader's thoughts, and could well be the source of lively discussion.

—Janine Adams

THE NEW AMERICAN POVERTY by Michael Harrington. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1984. 271 pages. $17.95.

The changing international economy and the resultant transformation of the American labor market have created intransigent structural poverty in America according to this work, which begins with the Johnson years, but focuses primarily on the Reagan Administration.

Harrington contends that the Reagan budget cuts of 1981 made it difficult to qualify for food stamps and Medicaid, and that as a result of a low minimum wage, many families could not afford basic necessities. The Reagan Administration by its own best estimates states that unemployment will be around 8 percent (10 million people) for several years to come. According to the Congressional Budget Office 3 million workers will be "dislocated" in the 1980s.

As this book points out, women and teenagers are the most vulnerable to poverty. Women are mired in low-paying jobs, a major reason for the feminization of poverty, while the young get rejected by the labor market before they have a chance to join it. Black teenage unemployment is five times higher than the overall rate for teenagers, virtually denying them their right to work. Harrington speaks of the prospect of their becoming "superfluous people."

—Alexander von Cube

THE HUNDRED PERCENT CHALLENGE: Building a National Institute of Peace: A Platform for Planning and Programs. edited by Charles Duryea Smith. Cabin John, Md.: Seven Locks Press, 1985. 256 pages. $16.95; $9.95 paper.

The United States Institute of Peace was created by Congress in 1984 to address peace research and devise outreach educational objectives toward peace among nations. The Institute will function as a research center and as a national endowment for peace, much like the national endowments for the arts and sciences.

This book provides a cogent introduction to the study of peace resolution. An excellent essay on Just-War tradition by David Little describes the state of the art of conflict resolution, tracing church doctrine of the middle ages all the way to current deterrence strategies. Ronald Scheinman discusses forced migration and refugee movements as threats to peace from a national security perspective. Kenneth Boulding provides a critical analysis of peace research. He observes that war begins with a shift in what is considered taboo (in terms of doing harm), and that basic concepts of threat and military beliefs might be changed only by "...enough evidence that the existing dogma of national defense is a guarantee of human destruction." The other parts of the book provide a history of the genesis of the founding of the Institute under the chairmanship of Sen. Spark Matsunaga, the vision of its proponents, and its legislative charter.

—Alexander von Cube

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

THE ARAB WORLD: An International Statistical Directory. by Rodney Wilson. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1984. $42.50.

THE AGING: A Guide to Public Policy. by Bennett M. Rich et al. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1984. 275 pages.

THE BRITISH FERTILITY DECLINE: Demographic Transition in the Crucible of the Industrial Revolution. by Michael S. Teitelbaum. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984. 269 pages. $40.00

CENSUSES OF ASIA AND THE PACIFIC 1980 ROUND. edited by Lee-Jay Cho et al. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Population Institute, 1984. 380 pages.

DEMOGRAPHY: The Study of Human Population. by David Yaukey. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985. 352 pages. $23.95

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PROGRAMS IN AID OF THE POOR. by Sar A. Levitan. Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985. 154 pages. $17.50.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN FERTILITY. edited by Wayne A. Schutjer and C. Shannon Stokes. New York: Macmillan, 1984. 318 pages. $38.50.

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WHO PAID THE TAXES, 1966-1985. by Joseph A. Pechman. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1985. 84 pages. $24.95.

WOMEN OF THE WORLD: Asia and the Pacific. by Nazra M. Shah. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1985. Data User Services Division, Customer Services (Publications). 141 pages. $5.50.

WOMEN OF THE WORLD: Near East and North Africa. by Mary Chamie. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, Data User Services Division, Customer Services (Publications). 195 pages. $5.50.

The following is the correct citation for a book listed in the May 1985 *PT*:

POPULATION AND RELATED ORGANIZATIONS: International Address List. by Ruth Sandor and Jane Vanderlin. New York: Association for Population/Family Planning Libraries and Information Centers-International (APLIC); distributed by the Population Council Library (New York), 1984. $45.00; additional copies, $20.00.

SPOTLIGHT

PAKISTAN

Population, 1985 (est.): 99.2 million
Births per 1,000 pop. (1984): 43
Deaths per 1,000 pop. (1984): 15
Land area: 310,527 sq. miles, not including disputed Jammu and Kashmir
Percent of population aged 15 and under (1984): 44
Percent of population aged 65 and over (1984): 3
Population rank in world (1985): 9
Infant mortality rate: 105 infant deaths per 1,000 live births
Life expectancy at birth: 51 years
GNP per capita (1983): US$390
Capital: Islamabad

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan borders on India, Iran, Afghanistan, and China. Its population is concentrated around Karachi on the Arabian Sea, and in the crescent formed by Lahore, Rawalpindi, and Peshawar. Pakistan was a British colony, part of the Indian subcontinent until Partition in 1947, when Britain gave Pakistan (East and West) and India their freedom. Although Pakistan is not a theocracy, the military government turns to traditional Islam for affirmation of its authority. Its martial law regime, established in 1977, is headed by President Ziaul Haq.

As recently as the last century, Pakistan had a complex ecosystem with tropical thorn and evergreen forests. Herding is a foundation of life for the predominantly rural population, and this, along with the chopping of trees for firewood, has led to soil erosion, reducing Pakistan's vegetation to semi-desert scrub. The presence of nearly 3 million Afghan refugees has increased the stress on the environment.

The issue of ethnic versus national solidarity has been a thorn in Pakistan's side since independence. Bengali-speaking East Pakistanis felt they did not have equal power in their country whose official language was Urdu, and whose capital was in West Pakistan. East and West Pakistan ended up in armed conflict; India, with Bengalis sympathetic to East Pakistan, joined in the struggle. The result was the formation of Bangladesh in 1971.

Pakistan's current provincial tensions and linguistic nationalist movement illustrate a problem faced by many countries in which ethnic and national boundaries do not coincide. The main linguistic and ethnic groups are Punjabis, Sindhis, Pathans, and Balochis. Pakistani Pathans identify most closely with the Pathans of southern Afghanistan, while Balochis in the southwest of Pakistan are most often in sympathy with Balochis in Iran.

Regional and ethnic conflict is exacerbated by the low rate of literacy and the low status inflicted on certain of the ethnic groups in Pakistan. Only 7 percent of the population speaks Urdu, the official language, 64 percent speak Punjabi, 12 percent Sindhi, 8 percent Pushtu, and the remaining 9 percent speak a variety of other languages. Not all of the languages have their own writing systems; most people must learn a second language in order to read about national affairs.

Pakistan has problems typical of many developing nations: a low per capita income, a large and growing population, and a highly stratified traditional society. In 1981, doctors, engineers, and craftsmen were in short supply, but there was a surplus of 300,000 agricultural workers. Agriculture makes up 30 percent of the Gross National Product and employs 55 percent of the work force. Bridging the gap between economic strata is difficult because of the low level of literacy; 77 percent of the labor force was illiterate in 1981. The illiteracy rate for women is higher still.

Ad in *The Muslim, Islamabad, 1985.*

In Pakistan's sixth Five Year Plan, begun in July 1983, the government acknowledged for the first time the extremely poor conditions for women as indicated by literacy, health, and fertility. The average Pakistani woman bears children from the start of an early marriage until menopause, during which time she may experience between 10 and 15 pregnancies. The total fertility rate is 6.4 average births per woman. Women's self-esteem is derived mainly from having many children, sons above all. The government is ostensibly trying to help women, but funding for women's programs during the Five Year Plan was cut from 5 billion rupees to 400 million rupees; in addition, religious orthodoxy and bigotry work against women even from within the government.

Economic growth has been good in recent years, but agricultural growth is a result of increased acreage rather than yield per acre. Former President Bhutto encouraged large-scale emigration to the Arab Gulf States, which has increased the income of many Pakistanis, though it has left many women to head their families alone.

Pakistan boasts the largest irrigation system in the world, based on dams in the Indus valley. The main crops are wheat—the country is nearly self-sufficient—cotton, rice, and sugarcane. Unfortunately, the grain surplus predicted for this year was eliminated by unseasonable heat in January and February. As a result, Pakistan may well be obliged to import massive quantities of wheat. □

This Spotlight was prepared by Margaret Greene, Population Education Specialist at PRB.

R8750-1

POPULATION TODAY

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Some of the 11,000 women who traveled to Nairobi, Kenya, for the non-governmental Forum '85. See page 2.

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Forum '85: 11,000 Discuss Women's Future

by Karen White

At Nairobi, Kenya, in July, some 14,000 women from 150 countries met to mark the end of the UN Decade for Women (1976-1985). Official government delegations convened at the UN Decade for Women conference (see box, page 8). Meanwhile, at Forum '85, women from nongovernmental organizations conducted their own assessment of progress made during the Decade that has just come to a close. One of the attendees: Karen White, Project Information Coordinator for the International Center for Research on Women, in Washington, D.C., who served as PT's farflung correspondent and has filed this report:

One of many conference panels

Jambo! This was the Ki-swahili greeting heard all over Nairobi as 11,000 participants gathered for Forum '85, the final nongovernmental forum of the UN Decade for Women. Held at the University of Nairobi from July 10-19, the Forum overlapped with the official UN World Conference on Women July 15-26, but allowed a more lively and free exchange of ideas and experiences. As Dame Nita Barrow of Barbados, convener of the Forum, said, "The women on whose backs all civilization and commerce have depended...are here today...It is a meeting of the minds of women. You are having the first taste of a glorious adventure."

The first forum took place at the UN International Women's Year Conference held in Mexico City in 1975 when more than 6,000 women representing themselves or nongovernmental organizations participated in the Tribune. Five years later, 8,000 women attended Forum '80, which ran concurrently with the UN Mid-Decade Conference in Copenhagen. Forum '85 continued the work of the earlier forums on the themes of equality, development, and peace; its special mission, however, was to discuss the achievements and obstacles to progress of the past decade and to formulate strategies for the next 15 years.

Attendees met at hundreds of informal panels on topics ranging from the problems of disabled women to the effects of the Lebanese war on women. It became evident from the content of the panels that great strides have been made in the field of women in development since the 1980 conference. For one thing, the field seems to have moved away from the descriptive stage, in which women's roles were described and the demand for development aid justified, toward the strategic stage, in which mechanisms for effectively integrating women into development programs and projects are formulated and tested. A general consensus seems to exist that most governments are now aware of women's economic roles but lack the political will, knowledge, or resources to implement projects that address these roles.

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POPULATION TODAY

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Policies Urged to Relieve Burden of Caregiving for U.S. Elderly

Demographic trends are jeopardizing the future of family care for the elderly and policies that ease the caregiving burden are needed to fill the gap, says sociologist Alice T. Day. In PRB's latest issue of *Population Trends and Public Policy*, Day examines the relationship between the disabled elderly and their caregivers and the social changes that are reshaping family roles and altering the nature of aging in the U.S.

Families—not government or agency programs—provide 80 to 90 percent of the personal care for elderly Americans. As of 1985 an estimated 1.4 million elderly Americans live in nursing homes and another 5.2 million, though saddled with disabilities that leave them in need of help with day-to-day tasks, live in the community. Eighty percent of care for the disabled elderly living in the community comes from family members—mainly wives and daughters.

Yet trends in life expectancy, the age make-up of the population, women's labor force participation, and delayed childbearing threaten to put serious pressure on families' ability to provide care in coming years.

More Americans are living past their 85th birthday, making the 85+ age group the fastest growing segment of the U.S. population. This age group is most likely to develop long-term illnesses that leave them disabled in some way and in need of home care. The number of disabled elderly Americans is expected to more than double between 1985 and 2020.

At the same time the proportion of elderly-over-85 to offspring is growing and is expected to continue to grow in the 1990s. Families now stand a greater chance than ever before of having a disabled elderly relative to support. The proportion of men 65 and older with one or more surviving parents is expected to increase from 7 percent in 1975 to 28 percent in 2015. In other words, more than one-quarter of senior-citizen men will have senior-citizen parents, a development likely to affect retirement plans.

Most of the caregivers are women--after a spouse, daughters are the first choice to serve in the caregiving role. Yet more working women today are in their 50s and are not home to care for elderly disabled relatives; by 1990 over 60 percent of women aged 45 to 54 are expected to be in the labor force as compared to only about 35 percent in the early 1950s. A 1976 study found that households where the woman worked were more likely to seek institutionalization as an alternative to home care.

Women today are also having their fewer children later in life, increasing the possibility that they may be faced with the competing demands of children at home, the needs of a disabled parent, and a job.

Many of the caregivers are themselves aging. The majority of offspring caring for a disabled elderly parent are over age 50. The average age of spouses caring for a disabled partner is 66 (more than 30 percent are over age 74).

Is Home Care the Answer?

Finally, rising health care costs compound the demographic challenges to family care. It is estimated that unless attempts are made to control increasing medical costs and curtail cutbacks in Medicare and Medicaid, the share of the health care costs paid by the elderly themselves will increase twice as fast as their incomes. In 1984, the elderly began to use more of their income for health care than before Medicare and Medicaid were developed. According to Day, much of the additional expenses will probably fall upon families that already sustain many hidden costs, including home modifications, rented equipment, higher heating bills and the "opportunity" costs to women who give up employment to care for disabled elderly.

All these trends point toward a greater need for elderly care—and decreasing resources to facilitate that care.

Although it is less costly to care for all but the most severely impaired elderly in the home, government programs and policies do little to support home care. Existing home care programs serve only a fraction of the disabled elderly and are difficult to gain access to because their authority spans the federal, state and community level. Tax credits for caregivers holding jobs allow only $2,400 to be deducted, far below the actual costs of adult day care.

Continued on next page

House, Senate Agree on Foreign Aid Authorization

The foreign-aid authorization bill for Fiscal Year 1986 ran the congressional gauntlet in July and was signed into law Aug. 8 by President Reagan. This marks the first time in four years that the foreign aid bill has made it through both chambers of Congress (stopgap financing measures were used in the past three years since policy disputes deadlocked Congress). However, the fate of the actual FY 1986 appropriation (the funds that fulfill the authorization) will not be known until sometime this fall.

So far, the House Appropriation Committee has approved a population budget of $261 million—a 10 percent decrease from FY 1985, in line with (and less than some other) across-the-board budget foreign aid cuts, which follow House attempts at fiscal austerity. (The administration had asked for $250 million.) The Senate will not take up the matter until it comes back from summer recess; population-law watchers expect that when an appropriation is passed, it will be somewhere in the $261 million area.

The efforts of Rep. Chris Smith (R-N.J.) and others to include restrictive policy language barring funds for the UN Fund for Population Activities in the authorization

Continued on page 5

FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

What's a big audience? 500 million? 1 billion? According to press reports, July's multi-continent Live Aid concert for Africa drew 2 billion television spectators worldwide, prompting one political pundit to grumble that *he* felt the star-spangled 1984 Olympics (with an audience estimated at upwards of 1.7 billion) should have had the larger audience, especially considering how discordant rock 'n roll music was, in any case...

But—leaving aside for a moment the salutary effects of Live Aid's charity, its *raison d'etre*—what's in a number? 100 million peace marchers, 10 million soldiers, 100,000 demographers—those are daunting figures, representing sizable populations committed in mind and body, forces to be reckoned with. But 2 billion couch potatoes? Scarcely worth getting stage fright over.

—Art Haupt

Caregiving for Elderly

Continued from previous page

Day is critical of attempts to shift the Medicaid costs of the institutionalized elderly onto families. The demographic characteristics of the nursing home population reveal that almost half have no adult children and a large portion are suffering from disabilities (e.g., senile dementia) that are difficult to care for at home. Says Day, "Forcing adult children and relatives to contribute a greater share of financial support assumes, contrary to all available evidence, that families do not help as much as they can or that family members (many of whom are elderly themselves) can afford the extra financial drain."

Day rejects arguments that the United States is spending on the elderly today at the expense of programs that benefit children. She asserts that investment in the aged not only helps the elderly, it indirectly nurtures the families of which older people are members. □

Copies of "Who Cares? Demographic Trends Challenge Family Care for the Elderly" (16 pages) are available for $3.00 per single copy; 2-10 copies, $2.30 each; 11-50 copies, $1.90 each; 51 or more, $1.50 each. Orders of $20 or less must be prepaid and include $1.00 for postage and handling. Send order and remittance to Circulation Dept., PRB, P.O. Box 35012, Washington, D.C. 20013. Checks payable to PRB.

SURVEY REPORT

Ivory Coast WFS

Ivory Coast (or Cote d'Ivoire) has made available the results of the World Fertility Survey (WFS) taken there in 1980/1981. Living in the northern part of sub-Saharan Africa, Ivory Coast's 8.9 million people occupy some 125,000 square miles of land (about the size of New Mexico). The population is growing rapidly: the survey results indicate a growth rate of between 3 and 4 percent per year—a function of both immigration and high fertility.

Indeed, among all 41 countries participating in the WFS, Ivory Coast exhibited higher fertility rates than all but four nations. The survey estimated a total fertility rate (TFR), or average number of children born to each woman, of 7.4, based on fertility rates documented between 1975 and the survey date. A major contributor to the country's high fertility is early age at marriage, and Ivory Coast brides, who marry on average at the age of 18, are among the youngest in the world.

When asked how many children they desired, the responses from currently married women averaged 8.5. This average is exceeded only by that of Mauritania among the 40 other WFS countries. Only 4 percent of the married women who were able to bear children wanted no more, and of those, 97 percent were using some form of contraception.

This desire for large families explains the general lack of interest in contraception on the part of Ivory Coast women. Their lack of interest becomes apparent in cases where awareness and past use are high, but present use of any contraceptive method is nil. Modern values associated with education and work should increase contraceptive use, but in the short run, the abatement of traditional restraints on childbearing (i.e., abstinence and prolonged breastfeeding) may result in even higher fertility among modernizing Ivory Coast women. □

Women Outvote Men in '84

The U.S.'s 1984 election marked the first rise of voter turnout (up 1 percentage point) for a presidential election since 1964, according to a Current Population Survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau; 60 percent of voting-age respondents reported that they had voted, up from 59 percent in 1980. Heretofore, the trend had been one of steady, gradual decrease, with voter turnout down a total of 10 percentage points since the 69 percent turnout of 1964.

The cause of the upturn?: increased voter participation among women. The proportion of women voting rose by 2 points since 1980 to about 61 percent. The men's percentage stayed at 59 percent. The 1984 presidential election marks the second time around (1980 was the first) that women's voting participation outranked men's, albeit by a small percentage. (Until recent times, males were the most active participants in presidential elections by a significant margin.) □

Frank Lorimer 1894—1985

Frank Lorimer, one of the world's preeminent demographers, died June 23 in Wakatane, New Zealand, where he was working on a philosophical treatise, "The Challenge of the Global Crises."

Demographer and sociologist, Lorimer was a founding member of the Population Association of America, and served as its president in 1946-1947. He was also a past president of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population.

Lorimer's contributions to the field were diverse, ranging from his early interest in eugenics to group differences in fertility to population policy. Perhaps best known for his *Culture and Human Fertility* (1954), he was also an expert on the population of the Soviet Union, and later developed an interest in the demography of African populations. □

FSU Adds Demography Master's Degree

One more name has been added to the list of schools offering graduate degrees in demography. Beginning this fall, the Florida State University (FSU) Center for the Study of Population will be offering a new program leading to a Master's of Demography. This will not affect or replace the PhD programs which FSU will continue to offer.

Students going through the program will complete a five-course core focused on the theory and techniques of demography and basic statistics, and take three demographic electives designed to make them knowledgeable of the latest research and developments in the field. Each student will also be required to take three electives from outside the Center to integrate demographic skills and creativity with traditional areas (such as planning and policy development or business) which are making increasing use of demographic data, techniques and findings. The final requirement of this two-year program is the completion of a research paper.

Interested candidates should contact David F. Sly, Director, Center for the Study of Population, the Florida State University, Tallahassee, Fla. 32305-2011 for application and further information. Financial assistance is available. □

Capitol Hill

Continued from page 3

bill for FY 1986, as well as those of Smith's counterparts in Congress who opposed his proposed amendments, were ultimately for naught. The conference committee which reconciled the House and Senate versions of the bill threw out all policy language, settling for setting funding levels only.

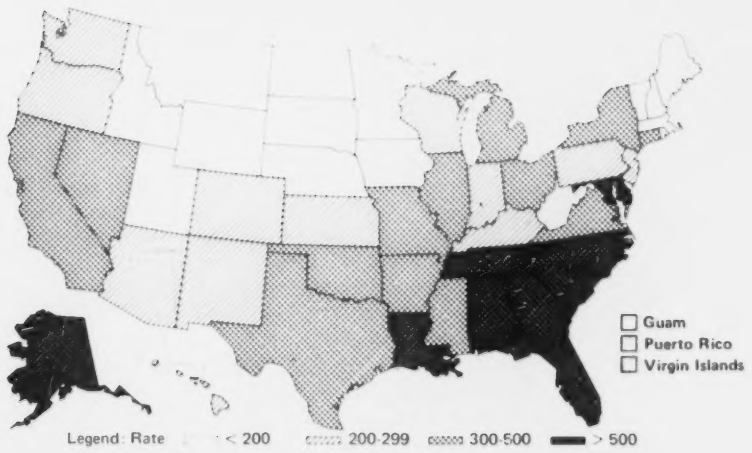
Before his efforts were negated in conference committee, Rep. Smith had been, for the most part, successful in the House, where amendments were passed which contained strong language regarding coercive abortion policies in China, and the UNFPA's involvement there.* In addition, Rep. Smith succeeded in stopping the proposed blockage of the implementation of the U.S. Mexico City population policy language. In the Senate, unlike the House, Sen. Nancy Kassebaum (R-Kan.) was successful in her attempt to block the Mexico City language. Also, Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) passed an amendment which would restrict funds to any country or organization funding a country which takes part in coerced abortion or infanticide.

Again, as a result of conference committee action, these amendments are merely a matter of record, and will not become actual policy. The only policy-related language which will probably be included as a part of the appropriations bill for FY 1986 was added during the mark-up of the bill. This language, which prohibits funding to any group which participates in the management of a program of coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization (but places the responsibility on the President to make an official determination for denying funding) is very similar to the amendment to the Supplemental Appropriations bill for FY 1985 sponsored by Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.), as amended by Sen. Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii) and Helms (see July/August *PT*). □

**Before visiting the U.S. in July, Chinese President Li Xiannian made a point of bringing up, and condemning, congressional denunciations of China's family planning program. He called them "entirely based on fabrication and distortion" and "absolutely unacceptable."*

SPEAKING GRAPHICALLY

U.S. Gonorrhea Cases per 100,000 Population, 1983



In 1983, reported cases of gonorrhea decreased by 6.3 percent nationwide, from 960,633 in 1982 to 900,435, and declined throughout the country. The case rate per 100,000 also declined, from 417.9 to 387.6, with the South Atlantic region's rates the highest (see map above).
Source. Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report (Annual Summary 1983). Vol. 32, No. 54, December 1984.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

To avoid perpetuating an error that occurred in the Census Bureau's *Current Population Reports*, please note for your readers that the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion came in 1973, and not 1970 as suggested in the figure "Number of Births, by Year, 1910 to 1984, and Relationship to 1984 Age Groups," reproduced from the CPR in the "Speaking Graphically" department of *Population Today* (June 1985). The sharp downturn in births that began in 1971 may relate to the 1970 economic recession. It was not restricted to states in which abortions had already been legalized, as only South Carolina failed to register a drop in its birth rate in 1971. The effect of the abortion decision, when it came, was attenuated by delays in its implementation, and is not identifiable in the figure.

Sincerely,
David P. Smith
Assistant Professor
School of Public Health
University of Texas
Houston

DEMOGRAPHER'S

Population Articles in Popular Magazines

by David Yaukey

Demography has a stake in spreading its knowledge over as broad a citizenry as possible. At least that's the premise behind this quick-and-dirty market analysis. If that premise be accepted, then the medium of popular magazines is one demographers should consider to impart their messages.

So the question here is: How is demography treated in popular magazines? How many articles actually are being published? What kinds of magazines publish them? Which of the demographic topics are editors' favorites? Who does the writing?

Matrix: Article Topic by Magazine Type

	Article Topic[a]										
Magazine Type	Gr	St	Co	Mo	Fe	BC	Fa	Mi	Ur	Ot	Tot
General Interest	4	2	1	5	2	12		24		1	51
Special Interest, by Reader Category											
Women				1	3	7	1				12
Men											0
Young						1					1
Old											0
Ethnic & Other											0
Special Interest, by Topic Category											
Science	4			6	4	3	1	1			19
Diplomacy	4					1		3			8
Business/Labor	3		1					1		3	8
Nature/Ecology	2			1	2				1		6
Religion				2		2	1				5
Other	3			6		1		2	1		13
Total	20	2	2	21	11	27	3	31	2	4	123

[a]Gr = Size and growth; St = Age/Sex Structure; Co = Composition, other than age/sex; Mo = Mortality and morbidity; Fe = Fertility, other than birth control; BC = Birth control, including abortion; Fa = Family and Marriage; Mi = Migration; Ur = Urbanization; Ot = Other, dominantly general demographic description and data

The Population of Articles

Probably the best known index of popular magazines in the U.S. is the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*. Its Prefatory Note describes the Guide as an index to periodicals "of general interest published in the United States," and it currently includes 196 publications. Many of the periodicals are really quite specialized, either in terms of their targeted readership (*Ebony, Teen, Working Woman*) or the topics they cover (*Audubon, Car and Driver, Nation's Business*). Apparently the most unifying trait is not the generality of their interest but rather the size of their readership.

Some exclusions should also be noted. Not even the most popularized demographic periodicals appear; not *American Demographics*, nor the *Population Bulletins* published quarterly by the Population Reference Bureau, nor the Population Council's *Population and Development Review*, nor *Family Planning Perspectives* from the Alan Guttmacher Institute. Indeed, there is no magazine title that aims at population as a topic or students of population as an audience.

At my request, the University of Massachusetts Library did a computer search for pertinent recently indexed articles. Specifically, they listed all articles and book reviews shown in the *Readers' Guide* as being published in the year April 1, 1984, to April 1, 1985. One year, I anticipated, would yield a list short enough for my personal qualitative coding. The year chosen not only had the advantage of being recent, but also, one would have thought, it was a good year for demographic news: the International Conference on Population was held in Mexico City, the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration bill was being debated and voted in Congress, a presidential campaign had aired national issues.

In generating a computer search, one has to choose pertinent words from a thesaurus developed for the data file. The list I provided, which included 21 words, did not weave a perfect net, it turned out. Missing from the catch is Samuel Preston's "Children and the Elderly in the U.S.," published in *Scientific American* in December 1984. There may be other omissions, but well over two hundred titles were netted.

Among these I found a total of 186 that I judged to imply demography. Of these, about one-third had no authors listed; I eliminated these (along with book reviews) from further analysis on the assumption that they must have been short and not especially authoritative. Thus we are left with 123 bylined articles.

Type of Publishing Magazine

The table above is a matrix tallying the 123 articles on a combination of type of magazine and topic of article.

Let us first deal with type of magazine. In setting up a classification scheme, I started with the table of contents of the *1985 Writer's Market*. After some informal pretesting, I

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combined categories to form classes that were narrow enough to be described yet were also likely to have received some articles. These classes are listed on the matrix, in the left-hand column.

The category of magazine containing the most population-related articles by far was "general interest." Among the topic-defined special interest magazines, the science magazines were the dominant home of demography articles. Of those special interest magazines aimed at a specific readership, women's magazines featured the most population articles. Interestingly, business and labor magazines appeared indifferent to demography. To interpret some of these findings, it will help to pay attention to the topics of the articles.

Article Topic

I designed the topic classification scheme to be exhaustive of population studies. The only intentional concession to anticipated number of articles was in the inclusion of a special category for birth control. The topics are listed at the foot of the matrix.

Overall, we see from the totals on the bottom line of the matrix that migration was the most heavily treated topic, with birth control second, and size/growth and mortality tying for third. (One could argue that there were several articles that covered both problems of population size/growth and birth control and thus the separation there sometimes became artificial.)

In the many articles appearing in *general interest* magazines, the topics were dictated largely by the current events being reported. The debate over the immigration bill, along with public concern over immigration from less developed countries, explains the 24 articles on migration. The birth control articles in general interest magazines were partially of the self-help sort and partially concerned with U.S. policy regarding family planning programs, as expressed in the context of the Mexico City conference. The articles about population size and growth were dominantly written in connection with that conference. The death while jogging of famed runner Jim Fixx drew editors to look briefly at mortality, both in the general interest press and "other" special interest press (in which fitness magazines are well represented).

Among the *science* magazines, the article topics were notably diverse. There were articles on growth, morbidity and mortality, fertility, and birth control, all usually treated with something of a biological emphasis. Migration was virtually ignored.

The editors of *women's* magazines seem to believe their readers obsessed with childbearing. Most articles dealt with birth control; almost all the rest with fertility (usually fecundity). Editors of magazines for men, on the other hand, assume indifference by males to population in general and childbearing in particular.

The *diplomatic* special interest magazines are an unusual kind of category. They seem to fall somewhere between trade journals for the diplomatic corps and general interest magazines about world affairs. Three publications dominated the category: *Department of State Bulletin*, *Vital Speeches of the Day*, and *Foreign Affairs*, listed according to frequency of use. The population-related articles involved are uniformly authoritative statements by present or past officials: James L. Buckley, George P. Schultz, M. Peter McPherson, Robert McNamara, Angier Biddle Duke, and so on. Clearly these topics were determined by diplomatic concerns during this particular year; immigration and refugee policy and the international population conference dominated.

Authorship

Who writes the articles indexed in the *Reader's Guide*? Apparently not professional demographers. None of the articles' authors were listed in the *1982 Directory of Members* of the Population Association of America. There were a few who, although not members, have public reputations of expertise in population: Lester Brown, Anne H. Ehrlich, and Germaine Greer. In addition, there were those statements by political leaders, probably prepared in part by anonymous expert staff, appearing in the diplomatic magazines. But authors of popular magazine articles seem overwhelmingly to be unspecialized staff writers and freelancers.

Conclusions

Where could professional demographers make a maximum contribution to magazine journalism? I think it is not by writing for the most popular of the popular magazines. There has been considerable topical coverage in that segment, handled to the apparent satisfaction of editors by their staff writers. But in the category of authoritative magazines there might be an opportunity for professional demographers. Among the magazines indexed, one might point to the categories of scientific and diplomatic magazines, as well as general interest periodicals aimed at the educated and concerned. This may be contiguous with a category (not studied here) that could be labeled "reference journals," such as *Population Bulletin* and *Population and Development Review*.

Topically, there seem to be few rigid limits. If there is a new focus, it is on international migration to the U.S. But the main theme, I believe, is that more of the range of demography now can be expressed in thoughtful and authoritative magazine articles. What is needed is the underlining of connections between demographic topics and public concerns; I am amazed that there was not more about the age structure of populations, or about changing household patterns, for example.

This is a very personal interpretation of the market review, and goes far beyond the matrix results. Other readers may find other messages. □

Forum '85

Continued from page 2

Certain issues that figured largely in the two earlier forums have shifted in emphasis, while others have just appeared. At Forum '80, for example, the issue of female circumcision became the focal point for charges by African women that the attitudes of Western feminists were both patronizing and imperialistic. During the past five years, however, Africans have increasingly taken the fight against circumcision into their own hands, denouncing it in medical, rather than moral, terms. New issues, such as the new wave of religious fundamentalism in the Arab League countries and the role of women in environmental movements, have risen to the fore. Similarly, the worldwide economic recession and the international division of labor have become new focuses of feminist concern.

As might be expected, the family planning debate became louder at Forum '85, in the wake of recent U.S. policy changes and the growth of Western right-to-life movements. As the region with the highest fertility rate in the world (6.3 births per woman), Africa provided a particularly appropriate environment for such a debate. At a number of panels, right-to-life Forum delegates predictably clashed with Third World proponents of family planning programs. While many women from developing countries displayed interest in educating the public about family planning and developing better mechanisms for delivering contraceptives, the Western pro-life contingent questioned the basic premises behind family planning.

Representatives of pro-life movements argued that Western family planning programs are racist, constituting little more than genocide. They accused Western pharmaceutical companies of treating African women like guinea pigs, citing the use of Depo-Provera (not approved in the U.S.) in developing countries. Other Westerners commented on the hypocrisy of the right-to-lifers, all of whom come from countries where contraceptives are widely available, in withholding the benefits of family planning from women in developing countries. The predominant Third World view was summed up by Visi Srinivasan, a Ford Foundation officer from New Delhi, when she said, "If the U.S. is going to fight about family planning, fine, you fight it out among yourselves. But don't drag us into it."

One of the conclusions to emerge most strongly from the Forum is the negative effect of the debt crisis and the international economic recession on women in developing countries. Though denounced by some Western feminists as a "political" issue, it became clear during sessions led by Latin American and African women that structural problems are indeed women's issues, as women are the first to suffer when economic conditions deteriorate. African panelists criticized the prevailing international division of labor for exacerbating Africa's current food shortage. The emphasis on cash crops, they say, has contributed to the disadvantaged position of women farmers, who mainly cultivate subsistence crops.

Though the Forum events were generally well organized, a number of logistical problems were evident, chief among them "the hotel situation." Thousands of women with confirmed hotel reservations discovered upon their arrival that the hotels had overbooked and were unable to honor reservations, forcing some women to triple up in single rooms and compelling others to seek accommodations in nearby universities. To make matters worse, a second crisis erupted two days later when several hotels evicted Forum participants in order to make room for the government-appointed delegates to the official UN Conference.

On the positive side, the attitude of the government and the local press was generally supportive of the conference. Male Nairobians exhibited lively interest and curiosity in the proceedings, perhaps reassured by a

Continued on next page

The Official UN Women's Conference

The official Conference was held to review and appraise the achievements of the UN Decade for Women, which ends this year. This was the third UN sanctioned conference for women held during the decade; Mexico City hosted the first in 1975 and the second was held in Copenhagen in 1980. The theme of all three conferences was "Equality, Development, Peace," encompassing many feminist concerns, ranging from inadequate food to unemployment, from rape to marriage rights.

AP Wide World Photos

U.S. Delegation head Maureen Reagan

Unlike those at the 1980 Conference, delegates at the Nairobi Conference achieved their goal of preparing a universally acceptable major conference document. The 372-paragraph document, which was adopted by unanimous vote, contains "Forward Looking Strategies" to guide women until the year 2000.

Though unanimity was achieved and the final document was devoid of ideological extremes, debates at the conference were not without ideological fervor. Political concerns were at the center of many of the disputed paragraphs. Indeed, a walkout on the part of the U.S. and Israel delegations was rumored, but was averted when language equating Zionism with racism was removed from the document.

The following four population and family planning-related goals were adopted for implementation within the next 15 years:

- Strengthening of family planning and maternal and child health components of primary health programs,
- Ensuring a voluntary and free choice for women to make decisions about their family size,
- Calling upon governments to make efforts to raise the age of entry into marriage "in countries in which this age is still quite low" and to provide adolescents with adequate family planning information and education, and
- Calling upon governments to ensure that fertility control methods conform to adequate standards of quality, efficiency, and safety.

story in the *Nairobi Standard* beginning, "Men should not worry about the outcome of deliberations of the NGO Forum '85 taking place at the University of Nairobi." Male taxi drivers were only too eager to offer their opinions about the forum's probable results but were concerned that so many women had left their husbands to fend for themselves back home.

It is too early to speculate on the long-term results of Forum '85, but a number of positive signs have materialized. First, press coverage of Forum '85 was heavier and generally more substantive than the coverage of the earlier forums; instead of emphasis on issues that divide feminists, serious development issues played a major role. This favorable publicity—and the raised consciousness it has engendered on the part of the public—will help create a climate more conducive to future fundraising in the women in development field. Secondly, the value of the Forum in terms of disseminating news about successful women's projects and organizations, such as the Working Women's Forum and Women's World Banking, is inestimable. Many women from developing countries learned that they have the same problems as women in other countries and have profited from their solutions. Finally, an extensive system of international networks among NGOs working on the same issues was strengthened and in some cases developed anew.

As the UN Decade for Women ends, the job of designing and implementing development projects that answer women's needs will fall increasingly on the world's nongovernmental organizations. Forum '85 marked the beginning of a new and effective collaboration among women's NGOs. As Leticia Shahani, Secretary General of the official UN Conference told attendees of the Forum's closing ceremony, "It is all up to you." □

Africa's Problems Not Insoluable

With continuing drought, ecological deterioration, and economic decline, no continent on earth is having as many troubles as Africa, which contains some one-half billion people and also has the highest population growth rate of any continent (estimated at 2.9 percent as of 1985).

It is this rapid population growth (Africa's women average over 6 children each) that is driving the continent's deterioration, according to Lester R. Brown and Edward C. Wolf, authors of the new *Worldwatch Paper*, "Reversing Africa's Decline." In their study, they describe the problems facing the continent, which include, in their view, reduction in rainfall caused by deforestation and increases in runoff.

To reverse these trends, they outline a development strategy involving such programs as massive tree-planting and soil conservation, which could be done at the local level. Commitment at the top and program management at the grassroots level are vital in order to lower population growth to replacement level, the authors feel. Such steps must, they say, be taken quickly: "The further the relationship between people and natural support systems unravels, the more difficult it will be to reverse Africa's decline." □

Copies of *Worldwatch Paper 65*, "Reversing Africa's Decline," by Lester R. Brown and Edward C. Wolf, are available from the Worldwatch Institute, 1776 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Single copies are $4.00 each; 2-5 copies, $3.00 each; 6-20 copies, $2.00 each.

POSITIONS/ PROFESSIONALS

Positions open in population-related fields will be published free in *Population Today* on a space-available basis. Send information to Positions Professionals, *PT*, Population Reference Bureau, 2213 M St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. Positions listed in *PT* are provided by Equal Opportunity Employers.

Position in population policy development. University of Michigan, to work on a development project mainly in francophone Africa. Qualifications: PhD in demography, population dynamics, or related field; fluent spoken and written French and experience working with LDC governments or international agencies essential. *Contact:* Program in Population Planning, School of Public Health, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48109.

Population Update

Estimated United States Population:

As of April 1, 1985	238,280,000
As of April 1, 1984	236,162,000

The above estimates include armed forces overseas and are from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 972.

Estimated World Population:

As of September 1985	4,859,000,000
Annual Growth	82,000,000

Estimated by extrapolation of the mid-1985 world population given on the 1985 World Population Data Sheet.

Latest Provisional Statistics for the U.S.: April 1985

Item	12 months ending with April					
	Number		Rate			
	1985	1984	1985	1984	1983	1982
Live births	3,710,000	3,634,000	15.7	15.5	15.9	15.9
Deaths	2,081,000	2,020,000	8.8	8.6	8.6	8.5
Natural increase	1,629,000	1,614,000	6.9	6.9	7.3	7.4
Marriages	2,465,000	2,440,000	10.4	10.4	10.7	10.6
Divorces	1,165,000	1,160,000	4.9	4.9	5.1	5.2
Infant deaths	39,100	39,100	10.5	10.8	11.1	11.5
Population base (in millions)	...	...	236.9	234.5	232.3	230.2

Note. Rates are given per 1,000 population, except for infant deaths, which are given per 1,000 live births. Rates are based on revised population estimates from the 1980 Census.

Source. Monthly Vital Statistics Report (Vol. 34, No. 4) from the National Center for Health Statistics.